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The clumsiness of my dance steps was politely ignored and when my hair grew too long, some friendly neighbor would tell me that it was the custom in their village for respectable women to keep their hair short. 123 [302]

It is therefore to those friends in Alor, to their shrewd but tolerant acceptance of my peculiarities and to their vigorous engrossment in their own affairs that any contributions which this volume may make to an understanding of the varieties of human character are primarily due.

To the kindness and interest of many other persons I am also indebted, since no ethnographer undertakes field work without making many new friendships and incurring innumerable obligations to both new friends and old ones. The work reported in this volume is no exception. My greatest obligations for both intellectual stimulus over a number of years and financial assistance on this field trip are gratefully acknowledged to Dr. A. Kardiner. To Dr. Ruth Benedict, who made possible the professional backing and financial support of the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University, I am again indebted as I have been so frequently in the course of professional work. Dr. Ralph Linton was kind enough to place at my disposal his joint seminar with Dr. Kardiner during the winter of 1939–40. The spirited discussion of field data by this group is a debt difficult to acknowledge adequately.

At the University of Leyden, Professor Josselin de Jong was a consistently kind and helpful adviser, a role he continued to play by mail throughout my sojourn in the Indies. It is difficult to thank sufficiently the many officials of the colonial government in the Netherlands East Indies, without whose intelligent and forbearing assistance there might have been insurmountable difficulties. This debt is particularly great to Assistant-Resident Koster of Timor and to Dr. and Mrs. Bruynis of Alor. Their hospitality, unfailing helpfulness, and consistent solicitude made my residence during the first year on Alor a singularly happy one. The missionary, Mr. Fuenekes, was distinguished for his tolerance toward an ethnographer, whose presence in any primitive community is apt to fortify interest in customs that missionaries try to combat.

Dr. Margaret Mead, Dr. Gregory Bateson, and Dr. Bruno Klopfer provided encouragement and guidance. Dr. Porteus gave unstintingly 128 of his time and interest in evaluating the maze test which bears his name.

To Dr. Emil Oberholzer no adequate acknowledgment can be made

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for the heroic energies he invested in evaluating the Rorschach data. Fortunately Dr. Oberholzer is generous enough to find compensation in the contributions his work makes to the advancement of our knowledge of human behavior.

Dr. R. H. Lowie, whose critical acumen and broad interests have been an inspiration to so many generations of students, was good enough to lend these assets to the reading of parts of the manuscript. To the Department of Anthropology at the University of California I am grateful not only for my original training in ethnology but also for the working space furnished me during the summer of 1940. Mrs. Sager's prolonged efforts in typing and retyping the manuscript have greatly facilitated the arduous task involved in preparing this book.

Thanks for financial assistance in publishing this volume are gratefully tendered to the American Council of Learned Societies and to the Coolidge Foundation. The infinite care and patience expended on the manuscript by the staff of the University of Minnesota Press is gratefully acknowledged.

To Margaret Wing I owe a debt of gratitude for the time, the skill, and the excellent advice she contributed during the final preparation of the manuscript. Without her unstinted enthusiasm and confidence in this endeavor during the last frantic weeks, this volume would have been delayed even longer.

C.D.

March 1944

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128 In the work that ensues I have reversed the descriptive and analytic procedure because it seemed easier in that fashion to make the picture clear. Therefore Part 2 will try to account for the modal personality in Atimelang, and Parts 3 and 4 will consist of autobiographies and test materials, which are essentially descriptive in purpose.

000 One final caution. A psycho-cultural synthesis such as the one in Part 2 is inevitably no better than the observer. Judgment in this respect must rest with the reader. In the autobiographical data there is less likelihood of distortion by the ethnographer, although it is obvious that his personality and that of the informant have acted selectively. In tests the distortion resulting from the observer's personality is almost entirely eliminated, although there is still some selectivity because certain natives are unwilling to offer themselves as subjects. When test material is interpreted by persons knowing nothing of the culture, as was the case with the Rorschach and Porteus tests as well as the children's drawings, the chances of distortions introduced unconsciously by the field worker are reduced still further. When one considers the inadequacy that still exists in training and techniques for such problems, as well as the complexity of the problem, a total correlation between a psycho-cultural synthesis, autobiographies, and test material would appear highly unlikely. If they corroborated each other only partially, I should consider the result gratifying. The discrepancies will be equally important since they may reveal either inadequacies of techniques or actual inconsistencies or diversities within the culture.

128 One concluding comment should be made. Although psychological matters are discussed repeatedly, I have tried throughout to avoid psychological terminology. This terminology has become so fraught with different connotations in the minds of both the layman and the specialist that to use it would serve only to confuse. There is, however, one exception; I have used the word *ego*. By this I mean that function of the personality which adjusts, with greater or lesser adequacy, the instinctive drives of the individual to the demands of the environment.

AN ELABORATION BY ABRAM KARDINER

000 The description of the customs and practices of primitive society can be put to a large number of different uses. One of these is to study the relationship between the individuals that compose the society, the institutions under which they are molded and live, and finally the relationship of the institutions to each other. When such an enterprise meets with a measure of success, these data can become the groundwork of a basic social science. The difficulties of such an undertaking are very

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Part 2 PSYCHO-CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

128 THE purpose of this portion of the volume is to draw together the material on childhood and child training and to attempt to show how it can be synthesized with adult behavior and values as well as with institutional forms. Formalized and unformalized behaviors are discussed in the order in which the growing Atimelanger encounters them. It will be necessary to interweave the strands, many of which will have to be carried continuously throughout the material. However, certain age groupings and associated emphases are possible. For example, the period of infancy lends itself to a discussion of the influence of orifice psychology and the gratifications or frustrations of physiological needs and tensions. Early and late childhood are best associated with the discussion of discipline. Adolescence in this culture is the period when adjustments to adult values begin to loom large. Adulthood presents the possibility for working out early conditioning and cultural values in terms of institutions and status positions.

Chapter 3

Infancy: From Birth to Walking

856 THE physiological theories of conception and fetal life in Atimelang will be discussed later in a section on sexual behavior and attitudes. Parental attitudes and behavior immediately before, during, and subsequent to birth will be described here only in so far as they impinge on the development of the infant. Within the infancy period Atimelangers recognize a series of stages: from birth to the first smile, from the first smile to sitting up alone or crawling, from crawling to walking. The actual age in months or years is of no concern. In fact, it is very difficult for the average mother to count back through the number of gardens she has planted, in order to tell you whether her child was born even three or four years ago. Therefore, ages given throughout this volume are only rough estimates.

THE CONFINEMENT

843 Pregnancy and actual birth are not surrounded with many observ-
183 ances, and precautions vary with individuals both in kind and in the strictness with which they are followed. For instance, intercourse be-

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Part 3 AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Procedure and Presentation

THIS part consists of eight autobiographies, each of which is followed by Dr. Kardiner's analysis of it. The chart on the next page gives in condensed form certain information about the subjects. Preceding each autobiography is a genealogy. These lists do not pretend to be complete, but they do include the names of the kinsmen most frequently mentioned. They serve to give some idea of the size and nature of the kin group in which each subject grew up. A glance will reveal the difference between Fantan and Tilapada in wealth of close relatives. This is important among a people theoretically so dependent on kin loyalties for support and status. Duplications and variations in personal names may confuse the reader as much as they do the Alorese, but I have tried to overcome this obstacle as far as possible.*

The persons from whom autobiographies were secured do not represent the ideal or "type" person of Atimelang. The most successful men said they were too busy with their financial and ceremonial affairs to spend the time required for telling a life history. Actually they probably did not need either the fee or the prestige that working with me involved. The "ideal" women of Atimelang, of whom there were a few, were either too unassertive or too engrossed in work to come daily to my house. I am under the impression that inability to secure autobiographical material from the successful type individuals of a culture is an experience many ethnographers have had in functioning societies. However, the autobiographies given here do represent, on the whole, average Atimelang adults. Of the eight, Fantan, Malelaka, and Lomani are farthest from the norm.

No attempt was made to secure this material until I had been almost a year in the community and was able, therefore, to estimate the status of the informant in his own social milieu. I then selected people who were representative, articulate, and had good rapport with both the interpreter and myself. Autobiographical interviews were limited to one hour each morning before the informant began his day's work. It was understood that each session would begin with dreams of the preceding

* In the case of an older person the term of respect for age, i.e., *kalieta*, was suffixed to the first syllables of the given name. For example, Padafani as an older man might be known as Padakalieta. In addition, the given name might be contracted with the first syllables of the father's name. For example, Padafani whose father is called Manimai might also be referred to as Padamani.

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night. This procedure was facilitated by the local habit of remembering and discussing dreams. However, a drawback was that I seldom heard the first version. Informants were often asked to interpret their dreams, but this was of little value for individual psychology, since there is a partially standardized system of dream interpretation in the culture. An attempt to get associations with significant words in the dream met with no great success. Most significant, perhaps, are the memories or anecdotes related immediately after the dream.

It was necessary to ask questions and to do a good deal of directing in the interviews. The degree to which I interfered is indicated by the parenthetical inclusion of the content of my questions, or, where that is obvious from the responses, by the word *Question* in brackets. Leading, as opposed to clarifying, questions were asked only when the informant seemed to be at a loss to continue. This was particularly true toward the end of a series of interviews, when the informant had begun to run

SUBJECTS OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Name	*Sex*	*Approximate Age*	*Number of Sessions*	*Sibling Position*
Mangma the Genealogist	Male	45	15	Second of nine children
Rilpada the Seer	Male	35	18	Third of five children
Malelaka the Prophet	Male	45	20	First of six children and six half brothers and sisters
Fenran the Interpreter	Male	25	12+	Youngest of three children
Tilspada	Female	45	19	Fifth of nine children
Lomani	Female	25	12	Youngest of eight sisters; father died in her infancy
Kelangkalieu	Female	50	11	Second of five children
Kolmani the Seeress	Female	45	15	Youngest of two children; orphaned in infancy

down and had failed to mention certain obvious topics. A case in point is Tilspada's omission of material concerning her children. The insertion of ages where they occur is the result of inquiry rather than spontaneously given information. Usually the informant named a child and said, "When I was like So-and-so." I would then approximate the age. These estimates are naturally unreliable but they are probably better than nothing.

Another point of procedure should be mentioned. Although I did not feel sufficiently in command of the language to dispense with an interpreter, I was able to check his translations and particularly the sequence of thought.

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quence of thought. The subject was allowed to proceed as long as he chose, and when he paused the interpreter repeated what had been said, while I completed the written record. In the printed autobiographies the original order of narration has been kept. Except for the deletion of irrelevant and confusing place and personal names, the inclusion of a few parenthetical comments for purposes of clarification, and some minor changes in punctuation and the like, the records are in the form in which they were set down in Alor. Although they may sometimes be difficult to read in this fashion, they seem more valuable and genuine pictures of the personalities. The reader will find that, except in the case of Malelaka, the first day's interview comes very close to epitomizing the individual's attitudes and preoccupations.

The autobiographies are rich in ethnographic detail despite the fact that informants were kept rather persistently to their own experiences and reactions. In a few cases ethnographic descriptions of an impersonal nature have been omitted. Even so, the autobiographies serve better than any other device to bring alive and make specific the generalizations and speculations in Part 2.

Chapter 10

Mangma the Genealogist

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

November 24, 1938

[What was the first thing he could remember?] When I was still very small and couldn't yet talk clearly, I remember there was a hungry period. Mother and father went to the woods and took the roots of wild bananas and brought them home to eat. Mother was pounding them up in a mortar, and a little bit fell over the edge. I grabbed it up and ate it, saying, "This is my tuber [referring to an esteemed sort, grown locally]."

When I was still small I was sitting on a mortar. It was the time that corn was ripening. My mother did not cook me ripe corn but was preparing unripe cassava. I asked her for my ako. [*Ako* is baby talk for *batako*, a prized tuber.] Just then there was an earthquake. I fell off the mortar to the ground. Everything rocked and shook. Cracks opened in the earth. Our house fell down. A heavy beam dropped across the mor-

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Test score: 6 years. This performance needs little comment. The fact that Kolmani, after succeeding in Year VI, was not able to carry over her experience to the next test indicates rather poor planning ability. I should suggest some emotional instability.

Dr. Porteus' procedure and his own summary have been excerpted from a letter accompanying the scored tests.

"I am surprised at the high level of the men's performance. The average of 28 scores was 12.76 years, which would give them an approximate average IQ of 91. If, however, two 6-year scores obtained by men who evidently had a very imperfect comprehension of the test were omitted, the average would rise to 13.7, with an average IQ of 97. Such a high average would seem to indicate that the Maze is comparatively independent of schooling.

"My comments on the quality of performance were quite independent of your notes and comments. I was very careful not to read any of these until I had examined and made notations on each test performance. Of course, I was at a great disadvantage in not being able actually to observe the test responses, so that in some cases I could not tell whether the mistakes were due to impulsiveness or to mental confusion and anxiety. Some of the things that I looked for were control of the pencil, nervous reactions at points where a decision had to be made, the place where the mistake occurred, and the like. As far as I can see, the main difficulty that unschooled individuals experienced was due to overattention to the task of drawing between the lines. The individual who was preoccupied with the manipulation of the pencil was apparently prevented from spending as much time in planning his course. Once the initial difficulties were got over, the unschooled cases seemed to do very well.

"Generally speaking, there was a great deal of evidence of dogged persistence and determination to succeed. In some cases, however, I felt that the individual believed that his prestige would suffer if he could not solve the problem, and in such cases there was a tendency to cut across the lines to the nearest opening, even though the individual knew perfectly well that it was against the rules of the game.

"The women's performance was decidedly inferior to that of the men. There were quite a number of cases in which there was evident misunderstanding of the nature of the test. Excluding four records below six years where failure was evidently due to inability to understand what was required, the women's average was 9.43 years, which would give an approximate intelligence quotient of 67. This poor showing of

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Results of the Porteus Maze Tests

Negative	*Men*	*Women*	*Positive*	*Men*	*Women*
III. Overconfident	4	3	Alertness	2	1
Hasty	1	3	Prudence	1	0
Impatient to succeed	1	0	Stability	1	0
Reckless	0	1	Persistence	1	3
Impulsive	4	5	Concentration	1	0
Quick change of mood	0	1	Determination to succeed	1	0
Goal without study or effort	1	0		–	–
	11	13		7	4
IV. Slow to anticipate change	4	4	Adaptable	1	1
			Ability to learn by error	2	2
Slow to adapt	1	2	Correct overconfidence	3	0
	–	–		–	–
	5	6		6	3
Total	*35*	*34*	*Total*	*22*	*7*

In view of the questionableness of such a tabulation, I have made no attempt to calculate percentages or to spin fine-drawn analyses. But certain gross tendencies may legitimately be noted. For example, qualitative factors that seem to make for the successful completion of the test are markedly few in women. This is of course to be expected from their lower intelligence scores. It is simply a way of restating their intelligence performance in terms of emotional characteristics. It is also evident that for both men and women the predominant factors that interfere with efficient performances are anxiety and a general lack of steadiness. Despite this the men's results are relatively high, which indicates a good general level of intelligence. One wonders whether the financial problems that preoccupy men resemble sufficiently the problems of the Porteus Maze tests to account for their high score.

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of interests, but one more pertinent to their future functions in the society. The predominance of the tattoo designs in the girls' drawings can perhaps be explained by the fact that most of the girls were near the age when they are tattooed. Tattooing is also the adult art technique which most closely approaches line drawing. [157]

When the subjects portrayed are broken down into rank orders of preferred categories and items, the following table results. Undoubtedly part of this clustering is due to intragroup imitations in day-to-day sessions. [128]

On the basis of subject matter alone some of the basic preoccupations and sex differentiations are brought out clearly.

RANK ORDER OF PREFERRED CATEGORIES

Category	Boys		Category	Girls	
	No. of Responses	Per Cent		No. of Responses	Per Cent
Plants	234	34	Plants	205	42
Animals	125	18	Tools (tattoo designs and combs equal 148)	163	33
Buildings	81	12	Buildings	46	9
Ceremonial objects	77	11	Cosmology	31	6
Cosmology	58	8	Animals	29	5
Human beings	54	7	Ceremonial objects	9	1
Tools	41	5	Human beings (or parts of)	7	1
Foreign objects	17	2	Foreign objects	0	0
	687			490	

RANK ORDER OF PREFERRED ITEMS

Item	Boys		Item	Girls	
	No. of Responses	Per Cent		No. of Responses	Per Cent
Palm	59	8	Tattoo design	119	20
Human beings	54	7	Fern *	77	13
House *	54	7	Tree *	30	6
Tree *	53	7	Comb	29	5
Fern *	47	6	Tuber	27	5
Star *	39	5	Star *	23	4
Flower *	39	5	Ladder *	23	4
Snake	26	3	House *	22	3
Village guardian spirit	26	3	Flower *	20	3
Evil spirit	20	2	Seed	12	2

* The starred items indicate subjects for which both sexes share a preference.

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125 128 In addition to this series of free-drawing sessions groups of boys and girls were asked on other occasions to limit themselves to the figures of a man and woman. A few characteristic human forms are reproduced in Figures 10 through 14. An attempt was made to score these drawings according to the Goodenough scale. The best performances of ten boys and ten girls were selected for the purpose. Since the estimates of chronological age are necessarily tentative and since the cross-cultural applicability of the Goodenough scale has not been established, no great weight can be attached to the results. In view of their unreliability it seems undesirable to give the original data. However, it is interesting that the boys rated a test age of about half their chronological age and the girls' scores were even lower.

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[115 125]

Figure 10. Pedamu Manipada (male), approximately 10 years. *a.* his father. *b.* his mother.

This is in marked contrast to a group of Nuakapi boys. They were as unfamiliar as the Atimelang children with pencil and paper; their adult art form gave them no greater assistance in representing the human figure, yet their test age approximated their estimated chronological age.* Obviously this comparison tells us nothing about the relative intelligence of Atimelang and Nuakapi children, but it does indicate a great difference in aptitudes, adaptation, and the development of skills in the two groups of children.

A point of interest in the drawing of human figures by the children of Atimelang is their inconsistency in representing sex differences, both in respect to body size and to the portrayal of genitals. Women are

*I am indebted to Drs. H. Harlow and W. D. Strong respectively for the scoring and the use of the Nuakapi children's drawings.

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because the precise location of the greater number of the answers was missing.

The scoring of the thirty-seven Alorese cases cannot be presented in detail, but it is possible to summarize the responses and the findings by categories. I must confine myself to some general statements based first of all, though not exclusively, on the seventeen male Rorschachs. The findings of the females are of the same type, exhibiting, on the whole, even more than those of the male Alorese, the striking peculiarities of their tests and those factors in which they differ from Americans and Europeans.

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS OF THE TEST FINDINGS

The experimental records are examined according to the following scheme:

1. How many responses are produced? What is the reaction time?
2. Is the picture conceived and interpreted as a whole or in parts, and which are the parts interpreted?
3. Is the answer determined only by the form, or is there also a movement or color element in it?
4. How is this whole picture, or any part of it, interpreted as regards content?

The results of the whole-part issue in the male Alorese are these:

Total Number of Responses: 498

		Male Alorese	*Male Swiss*
W	(whole answers)	87 (17—) = 17.5% ∓	30.2% ±
D	(normal details)	288 = 58.1%	61.5%
Dd	(small and unusual details)	121 (61—) = 24.4% ∓	8.3% ±
		496	

One among the above-stated Dd is also a Do (see later the average findings). The signs ± and ∓ mean predominance of good forms, and vice versa.

When I compare the Alorese with Europeans I refer only to Swiss for statistical purposes, since Europeans other than Swiss are considerably in the minority among my normal material—normal, that is to say, in the sense of showing no peculiarities, or only a minimum of them.

In combination with other experimental factors the proportion of whole, detail, and small detail answers and the quality of the forms (*F+* and *F—*) are first of all, though not exclusively, the representa-

It is obvious that [illegible] must be based on a consideration of individual variations. These were neglected when we summed up the results of the findings for the purpose of making a statistical generalization such as I gave at the beginning in the section on the quantitative results.

In general the Alorese personality diagnoses are based on five different kinds of manifestations:

1. The quantity and proportion of the ordinary color reactions as produced by anyone to any color in the ten cards.
2. The black and white interpretations and their quantities.
3. The proportion between these black and white reactions and the true color responses.
4. The manifestations of the black color-shock.
5. The manifestations of suppression or repression where they occur.

In addition, there are the percentage and quality of the whole and small detail answers as well as the percentage of good forms and animal interpretations, which are both intellectual and emotional representations.

The individual's affectivity is a resultant of these reactions which are interrelated and which interfere with one another; there are as many individual shadings as there are different modes of experience (see later). For instance, the more black prevails over true color, the more passive is the individual's behavior and the more strongly stressed his attitude of passive acceptance. The more expressed the black color-shock, the more distrust and suspicion are characteristic of an Alorese or the more fearfulness and timidity are developed, depending on the card at which the shock occurs and at which it shows its greatest intensity. This is true even though there may be fewer black and white interpretations than in other individuals (see blind diagnoses of Mangora the Genealogist, Fantou the Interpreter, and the rumukmu). Furthermore, it depends on the number of these black and white interpretations in proportion to the other color reactions and the intensity of the black color-shock whether a person is spiteful and resentful and to what extent, whether he is characterized by rawness in his behavior and how much submissiveness and shyness exist, or how quickly he freezes and shrinks into himself after emotional outbursts. All this can be found from the ethnographer's records.

If I single out the normal details, the space figure interpretations (Sf), which cover or start from the white space in the pictures, and the Do or interpretations by which only a part of an entity is interpreted (*pars pro toto*), the average findings for the seventeen male Alorese are:

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X 137 sensitive and resentful (black color-shock). He fears for his dignity and dislikes being teased and wounded out. In contrast to Rilpada, Mangma is devoid of incisions and inspirations, but he has many ambitions and aspirations for which his abilities are no match. Despite his relative composure he lacks any real balance of mind, as does any dunker.

X 137 Not all Alorese are so different from one another as Rilpada the Seer 184 and Mangma the Genealogist, but variations exist among all of them 188 against the background of common features which at first seem to dominate the picture of their Rorschachs. The complete range of variability is revealed by a table presenting the plus and minus deviations of the experimental factors from their average. The table on page 615 is limited to the most vital factors of Alorese psychology, i.e., the W, Dd, the F+% and A%, the color total (C), and the bl-wh total (bl-wh). It neglects factors of minor consequence, such as the DW, S, Do, F(C), and disregards the quality of the whole answers, the original answers, and the sequence which should be included in a comprehensive comparison. The average of the factors is stated at the top of each column.

X 137 Even among such a small sample as these seventeen male Alorese, there is the test of the tumukun, which exhibits not only the average number of responses but also coincides with the average of the W, F, and C. It comes very close to the average of the D, CF, the F + %, and the A%, but differs considerably as to the bl-wh reactions, the number of Dd, and the two Do.

The Tumukun

Number of Responses: 19

W	5 (3—)	M	6
D	11	F	10 (1+—)
Dd	3 (—)	F(C)	1
Do	2	FC	0
	—	CF	4
	19	C	1
			—
			19

F+	47%
A	47%
approximate sequence	W-D-Do in order